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side to talk of happy things. When they had finished smoking four cigarettes, the same man would butcher and divide it among those present. They were careful to lift the flesh slowly from the ground. If it were jerked up, rain would pour down and it would thunder hard. Even when carrying it home, they would walk their horses slowly all the way. When they neared home, those on horses dismounted slowly and carefully lifted off the meat. These men would divide the meat among their friends and relatives, or after it was cooked invite them to eat. Those to whom it was given must thank the giver, else in winter it would rain hard or be very cold, or if summer, become so hot as to scorch the plants and sand storms blow. Similarly if one should beat or shake the mountain sheep skin or horns, the weather would be frightful. (The horns were not carried home.)[15] They had to be careful at all points in handling the sheep. Women cooked its flesh. It was not thrown into the pot, but put in slowly. Sticks had to be thrust into the fire slowly, too. Even when eating it, they chewed slowly, for fear of choking.

Peccaries were sometimes seen in the desert east of Sacaton; they were hardly ever found in Maricopa territory. Hence while the Pima hunted them, the Maricopa killed them only when passing eastward, as on a war party. The meat was divided, roasted and eaten on the spot. The tusks were not used. While the peccary is now known as kʏω'chĭlyuvacaðð'm, "wild pig," and the domestic pig as kʏω'c, obviously the latter was the original name for the peccary.

Beavers (pĕm) were eaten, especially the fat tail. There were a great many beaver in the neighborhood. The entrances of the beaver house were stopped up, while they dug through its top, using their digging sticks to kill the inmates.

No one would eat ground squirrels (aði'c) for fear of deafness.

Birds were not important in the diet and their eggs were never eaten. Quail, mourning doves, and whitewing doves could be

[15] Pima hunters also never brought home the horns. "Each man had a place set apart where he deposited them in order that they might exert no evil influence upon the winds or rains." The Papago deposited mountain sheep tails with feathers at springs during rain ceremonies (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 82).

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223 taken locally, and turkeys in the mountains north of Salt River.[25] Birds were shot, especially at their roosting places after sundown. They did not use a jacklight like the White Mountain Apache. A quail trap was also used. This was a basket-like contrivance of arrowweed propped on a split stick and baited with seed (Fig. 5). The prop had a scarf-joint at its middle, unbound, and simply stuck together to stand in unstable equilibrium. A string, fastened to the lower corners of the basket, looped around the stick to hold it taut. When the birds struck the string the

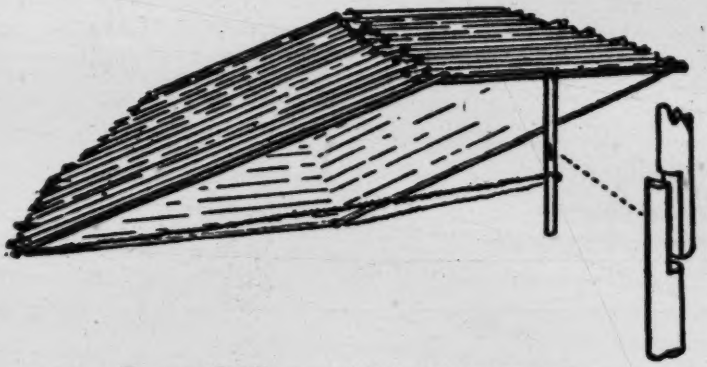

FIG. 5.—Quail trap, with detail of split prop

prop was upset and the trap dropped. The mechanical inefficiency of this contrivance nicely illustrates Maricopa indifference to things material. This trap was called 'axikŭ'm ("to trap" was tapĕ'tŭm); the split stick, kàca.u'n. Quail were axma'; mourning doves, kuavàta'; and turkeys, ʍro'tĭc.

[825]

252 Meat was more commonly broiled than boiled. Small birds were plucked and drawn, and spitted in rows on sticks. A great number of such spits might be set up around the fire. To roast small birds and rabbits, they brushed the ashes aside, placed the eviscerated animals or birds, still with fur or feathers, on the hot ground, covered them with ashes, and heaped coals over this. This method was called pa'vŭg; broiling was cil. The informants had never heard of pit-roasting small game. All small game and

[25] Quail were not tabu for women as among the Pima (*ibid.*, p. 80).

All small game and
fish was cooked by men; women, however, cooked deer and 252
mountain sheep flesh. The reason is not apparent. [462]

Large mountain turtles (kapĕ't), about a foot across, were [262]
eaten; also by Papago and Yavapai according to my informant. [71]
These were usually baked in ashes; sometimes boiled. The shells [237]
were not used for any purpose.

Honey was occasionally obtained from the flower stalks of 222
mescal, but these contain very little. This was the product of
large bees (mŭspo'kwĭni'l,ȧ, "black bee"). The classification of [825]
"bees" is rather interesting: working bees were called flies
(x̌ălyȧsmo''kwĭlyȧvi'na); another bee with a yellow back (not a
hornet) was mŭspo'cĭlyȧmŏ'kkȧkwĭ'sĭc; a fourth variety, re-
sembling a wasp, was mŭspo'kwĭsĭ'c, "yellow bee." The nests of
working bees were found and the insects killed individually, but
their honey was not eaten.

A worm, called ȧmĕ' (more probably a caterpillar, since it was
said to have a horn on each end) was caught, boiled, dried, and [252]
eaten.[17] They caught them in their hands in the spring and late
autumn. There was a peculiar way of catching them: with one
hand they caught the beast, broke off the end with the thumb
nail, squeezed it out, and inserted it between the other fingers of
the same hand. In some fashion they braided long strings of
these, perhaps because the "worm" coiled around its fellows.
Then they boiled and dried them. They were eaten dry or boiled. [252]
Dried "worms" were also heated in warm water and fried. The
finger tips got sore gathering them.

Pets (n,ȧx̌a'tk, "my dog," any pet) may be conveniently de- 231
scribed here. These were dogs and various birds. The chicken
hawk was perhaps the sole bird deliberately excluded, because [753]
one who handled it would "get sick in the lungs." Turkeys were
not pets.

Dogs (x̌atk) were said to be like present-day dogs; some black,
others spotted. They were called by whistling or by calling their
names. Several expressions were recorded: kȧθi'k, kȧθi'k, "come,
come," govŭna'l,ŭm, "get out, go away," sĭkiyĭ'mdĭk, "go

[17] Said to travel rapidly. These are undoubtedly the same as the Pima [825]
ma'kŭm (*ibid.*, p. 81).

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were trimmed parallel to the shaft, and were not cut serrate. The shaft was ordinarily painted red for half its length from the nock end, but some drew zigzag lines on it with their finger tips dipped in paint.

Quivers were of deerhide or a fox skin with its tail pendent; in fact, any skin, such as mountain lion, might be used. In this some twenty arrows were carried. It was tied to the belt in back with the mouth at the left floating ribs. In contrast, my informant pointed out, the Yuma slung it low on the left thigh, the Yavapai carried it on the back pointing over the left shoulder. ("They [the latter] were always creeping along.")

A bowguard was worn on the wrist of the bow-hand. Nothing could be ascertained beyond that it was of deerhide, laced with thongs. When they dressed for a dance, they wore this as an ornament (as the Navaho still do); a broad band with fringes hanging, by which girl partners would hold.

Poison was always applied to war arrows, it was said, but the "poison" (matàpu'i) was jackrabbit blood and nothing more! "The jackrabbit is closely related to the cottontail. The latter was bitten by the rattlesnake at the creation, hence the jackrabbit contains the poison."[35] Hunting arrows were not poisoned.

Clubs were made of mesquite and ironwood, and were for use only in warfare. The conventional form had a cylindrical head with a long straight handle, sizable for gripping, in one piece; the whole about eighteen inches long. A specimen, made under the direction of old Kutox by his grandson, has an elongated knob head which only approximates this shape (Pl. XIII, *e*). It is also provided with a wrist loop tied in a groove encircling the tip.[36] Another, made by Charlie Redbird, has the same shape. This is generically the "potato-masher" type of the Pima and Mohave[37] but without the sharp contours. But the Maricopa, seizing the enemy by the hair, always used it with a downward smashing stroke at the temple, not punching upward as the Mohave habit. A straight club of the same length was also carried to be used

[35] See p. 348. [36] Washington State Museum, No. 2–11916.

[37] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 96; Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 751.

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spectively xuk'ŏs and xurŏ'v[4]). People say the thunder strikes, not the lightning. They cry out to children, "Come into the house! The thunder will split you in two." Arrowheads (presumably those found in ruins) were dangerous for one to carry about; the thunder would be sure to strike him. They did not go close to a lightning-struck tree nor burn its wood: it would make them sick. Thunder was not associated with war by the Maricopa.

Men who dream of it say thunder and lightning have the form of human beings. One of them wears red clothing; the other is naked except for a skin around his loins. The latter carried a bow and arrow in his hands all the time. He has long bushy hair hanging over his shoulders. The man with red clothing does nothing but stand with arms folded: in talking to the other, he stretches his arms out, which makes the lightning. The one with the bow shoots at the same time: that is thunder.

What clouds are made of was not known, but "they come in the form of human beings";[13] a fundamental belief in the Pueblos. The Maricopa held that the Yavapai told the clouds to go to some spot in the Gila valley, so that it would cease raining where they lived.

The appearance of a rainbow (kwâlice'rc) indicated the end of rain. A halo or corona seen around the moon (xal,ă'c kârâu'kâm, "moon's ring") was not regarded as significant.

The whirlwind was a ghost, that is, one of the several souls each person had.

Little bees seen making holes in the ground was regarded as a sign of approaching spring.

DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

Six directions were named: the four cardinal points, zenith, and nadir.

Inya'cȧpa'k or Inya'djȧpa'k, "sun's rising place," or Inya', "sun," east
matxa'vĭg, matxa'k, north
kave', give' or Inyaxa'pk, "sun went that way," west
xasa.i'l, south (lit. "salty water")
ȧmai', up (lit. "sky")
ȧma't, down (lit. "earth")

The term In,uxa'vȧ or In,uxa'p was volunteered for northwest, but this is palpably the term for west.

[13] The tale "Cloud and Wind" was told to exemplify this belief.

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Last Star was not sure what spirit was the subject
643 of a chief's dreams, but presumed it must have been the mocking
[787] bird, because anyone who desired to become an orator dreamed
[825] of this bird.

His successor was his son or other close relative in the patrilineal line. The rule was not absolute but dependent on the competence or willingness of the logical successor. Normally the inheritor was a son (not of necessity the eldest son) because it was assumed that "the son had been instructed by his father, but they would pass over an incompetent son for a close relative on the father's side." The successor's competence was taken as a sign that he, in his turn, had had the requisite dreams. In default of a qualified son, the dead chief's brother or brother's son was chosen. The transmission was through the chief's sister only if she had sons while his brother had none. No woman could inherit the position. In the case cited below, the succession was to a filial grandson because the daughter could not hold office.

173 The first Maricopa chief who could be recalled by Kutox was
643 killed by the Mohave at Sacate. "He had wanted his sister's sons [*sic*] to be chief in his place, but they [the sons or the people?] refused." Then the people chose his eldest son, but he too refused; the chieftaincy going to his second son Xan,igwacxa'm^{a}, "frog beater." The latter was killed in battle in Yuma territory before Kutox was born (1847). He had a sister who had no son but a daughter. The son of this daughter was chosen chief. This man was Charlie Redbird's father. Charlie would now be chief if they had one. Last Star knew nothing of earlier chiefs, but thought the transmission was from an unnamed chief[2] through his daughter to Charlie Redbird's father. He is probably correct, but in
[613] either case the principle is the same; that transmission was always through the paternal lineage though not of necessity through males. It is obvious that the chieftaincy did not remain in a single sib.[3]

[769] [2] Here occurred an instance of the emphatic refusal to name the dead, perhaps because Last Star was talking of his wife's ancestors (his wife being Charlie Redbird's sister) in the presence of Charlie's wife.

[3] The Mohave cited to Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) the name of the Maricopa chief at the time of the Kohuana adhesion (1838) as Aha-kurrauva, and about

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Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwami

But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping. Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

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the corn himself. But these xavâtca'c people would eat corn too; they would only praise it. 614 824

Those of xamitu'tc praise that month, saying the trees had again come to life, were standing up stoutly, ready to bring mesquite beans to feed everyone.

Pakĭ'ṭ would boast, speak well of the buzzard. (One of them said, "Our white friends have dreamed of the buzzards; that is why they make airplanes.") At harvest time when it is cloudy, and buzzards always fly about when it is overcast, pakĭ'ṭ people say, "cimu'l (sib), drive all the clouds away, so rain will not destroy our crops." 614 825

Kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᴬ sib looked on the eagle and lizards as its friends, and as friends, would not kill them. Kutox (of this sib) said, "When I see the little lizard, I praise it and boast of it as something big. I pray to the eagle when I go to bed, 'You are way above the sky and can look down on me and protect me. When I am asleep and there is any harm near, wake me.' To the lizard, I say, 'You are creeping on the ground just like the poisonous snakes: try to keep the poisonous creatures away from me.' "

Although several sibs had the same totems, there was no tendency to group them on this basis in phratries. That is, they recognized that two sibs had identical sentiments for a particular totem and that their relationship was therefore different from that with other sibs, yet there was no temptation to consolidate such pairs. Several statements describe this position. The Maricopa sibs xavâtca'c and l,eω'c "have the same insect" (a red or yellow beetle), so they are "almost alike," yet they could freely intermarry. Pakĭ'ṭ and l,eω'c both refer to the buzzard, but they do not consider themselves related. Pakĭ'ṭ people call it pakĭ'ṭ, while l,eω'c call it by their sib name. Contradictory to this, the single Halyikwamai family of sala'l sib have mesquite for a totem; so has Maricopa xamitu'tc, hence "these would consider themselves as belonging to one group." 614 [615]

It is significant that although the Maricopa community knows the Pima quite well, my informant had no inkling of Pima social structure. The Pima have five patrilineal sibs bearing meaning- 829

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Halchidhoma

TABLE VI—*Continued*

551
614

SIB: kwĭtk$_y$l'l$_y^A$

Women

*159	nĭk$_y$ĭnk$_y$l'k.....	iridescent green	Refers to a lizard, whose breast is iridescent green.	Halchidhoma
*160	ta'vĭcuxau'k.....	flower-curl	Refers to the lizard's curved tail.	Halchidhoma
*161	kwaiŏliyŏ'l.....	———	(Refers in an obscure way to the sib.)	Halchidhoma
162	matmăso'^{A}.....	eating herself	She was a cranky child.	Halchidhoma
163	matăstu'm.....	gathering dirt		Halchidhoma

Men

*164	'uvăau'nyuti'c.....	rain—bow (not rainbow)	Describes the lizard's tail, which is thought to resemble a bow, hence also a rainbow, and hence the rain.	Halchidhoma [825]
*165	mankwăxau'.....	sudden runner	Refers to the sudden running of the lizard.	Halchidhoma
166	uwă'n$_y^A$.....	carries all the weight	Childhood name. He was a stout child, whom they would bounce up and down.	Halchidhoma
	kutŏ'$_y$.....	women's dice (also playing cards)	His explanation is that his face is lozenge-shaped like the pip on a card. The common explanation is that this name was given by his mother-in-law because he spent all his time playing cards: she said he was full of the figures on the cards.	
167	tcuve'kăml'c.....	returning mourning	Named for the mourning ceremony.	Halchidhoma

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It appears quite probable that the blood referred to here is that blood which was released at the time of creation, which is the embodiment of all disease and is ever present in the world about. Most sickness was said to be caused by contact with this blood in "bad" dreams (p. 280), which are here defined as those of the evening and dawn.

There is no explicit account at hand illustrating the effect of this patterning on the dream narrative, but it is implied in descriptions of the content of several songs.

The song il,ica'c, for example, told "of many different things." It told how the little birds or animals of the air are preparing to go to a celebration already under way; how they got there, and how they behaved. It told how, in the middle hours of the night, they thought they should not spend the whole night there, but decided it better to go home, and accordingly how they left the celebration. The song continued that toward morning, those who stayed all night were worn out and sleepy, and how their husbands and children starved in the morning, but how those who had returned had breakfast prepared for their families.

SPIRITS

The spirits of which they dreamed were primarily birds, with some animals and insects, the mountains, certain stars, lightning and thunder, and possibly the rain. Trees were mentioned as having spirits, but that these were power sources is exceedingly doubtful. The number of spirits seems to have been definitely limited, but the basis of their discrimination from those birds, animals, or natural phenomena which were not spirits remains wholly obscure. The question whether the spirits were single individuals or classes seems to have been of no consequence to the Maricopa, hence unresolved. Thus, whether Buzzard was a particular unitary being, or whether the genus buzzard supplied an unlimited number of spirits which functioned alike, was not made clear. The impression is that they thought of but a single spirit Buzzard, of whom the birds of everyday life were but tangible and earthly representatives. This is clearly the case with Coyote, who is Coyote of the creation tales. In the case of insects, flies, gnats, crickets, and the like, these appeared in dreams as a cloud of insects operating in concert. Their plurality proves nothing, since they never appeared individually.

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Birds mentioned as spirits—there may have been others—were mocking bird, an orange shouldered blackbird, buzzard, eagle, horned owl, crow, killdeer, "mountain killdeer,"[7] and duck. Among birds "one does not hear in dreams" were roadrunner, hawks, and crane (heron?). Animals named as spirits were deer, coyote, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, dog, frog, and possibly bat. Certain spirit coyotes created by Coyote (as recounted in the Coyote tale, p. 355) were also dreamed. The four insect spirits named are partially identifiable: cricket, gnat (?) small flies (kumanyihwi'), and xalkwata't. Fish were also dreamed of. In addition there were the local mountains, thunder and lightning, rain (?), the morning star, the constellation Orion's Belt, and two spirits of unknown identity, cïl,aitcuwa'n, and kukupu'ra.

The powers conferred by these spirits were always specific, despite the fact that several gave powers of more than one kind. Some of the powers were obviously more impressive than others, but why Kutox signaled Eagle and Buzzard as the most important spirit birds is obscure. Last Star stated that Coyote was the most important: "Every shaman who cures always mentions Coyote, Buzzard, and Horned Owl. Coyote and Buzzard could teach the cure for a number of diseases [not specified] and would select various men for each. Although Eagle is a strong bird, none of the shamans seem to dream of him; he is never mentioned in their songs."

Curing powers were associated with certain spirits. Horned Owl alone cured soul loss caused by dreaming of a dead relative. An insect, xalkwata't,[8] and Coyote gave power to cure any illness. "Every shaman who dreamed of xalkwata't claimed he was head of all these animals, the best one living." The power of Coyote was derived from his having recovered from every known disease at the time of creation (see p. 351). A shaman with Coyote power was exceptional in that he never sang in public for entertainment. A shaman with this power needed only ride a horse to

[7] Looks like a small killdeer but lacks black stripes on its throat: possibly the mountain plover.

[8] As large as the thumb, which lives in the ditches.

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554 776 787 [821] with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, certain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus ('xu'l) figured as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 787 811 825 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds. Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

[753] Other associations depend for comprehension on certain beliefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 787 823 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and animals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma

Sierra Estrella was thought to have a berdache living in it, hence its name, vial,xa", "berdache mountain." As explained above, this mountain gambled with the similarly named mountain near Yuma to see which should lose a warrior, who became a berdache. Presumably these two mountains also were thought to contend for the success of their people in war, because it was said of the Mohawk Mountains:

> It lies midway between the Yuma and the Kaveltcadom, so that it belongs to both people. It does not take one side, but always agrees with the mountain here or at Yuma as to which people shall die.

In dreams the faunal spirits at least appeared in human guise, or rather, as might be expected, their aspect fluctuated between avian or animal form and the anthropomorphic. "Those who see the coyote, eagle, or buzzard in dreams describe them as a boy or girl going along." "Some people dream of dogs who appear as persons." The dogs tell how they are abused by people and instruct the dreamer to tell this." Dogs are persons; that is why Kutox did not beat his really annoying curs. Again in the vision recounted above: "So the owl turned around and rubbed himself all over. Then the owl stood in front of him in human form." The case is somewhat different with Thunder and Lightning, which were conceived outright as anthropomorphic beings. Such a fluctuating conception of birds and animals would seem an inevitable result of crediting them with human intelligence and speech.

There was no tendency to dream of one's sib totems. This is curious, because some totems, such as buzzard, eagle, and coyote, were repeatedly mentioned as spirits. Perhaps all totems were spirits: this is not clear. The failure to integrate dream experience with the social structure is not surprising, because the totems themselves were left functionless in relation to the sib system. Maricopa thought was accretive, rather than systematizing.

THE SONGS AND SONG CYCLES

The dream experience had its counterpart in song. The Maricopa say that songs were dreamed. They imply that all songs

[11] As exemplified in the tale of the Dog Champion, p. 396.

278 his legs or arm hanging in the hole, covered with a blanket.
757 When mashed while fresh and boiled, or even chewed dry, this plant served as a specific for colds, headache, and rheumatism.
[825] Since it was believed that rattlesnakes were afraid of the plant (hence its name), it was chewed and spat on horses' hoofs when travelling at night so that they would not be bitten. When all else failed for rheumatism, a cautery was used. For this purpose the cottony seed fiber of taci'l, or a pledget of cotton rolled into a ball, was burned on the painful spot. A cautery was called tcĭmakω'l like the balls of fiber on this plant. Ordinarily smoking was first tried to stop toothache (iθωʀa'vȧk; iθω, "teeth"), or they bit on black mesquite bark, or held a mouthful of water, warm or cold. For earache (smalgȧʀa'vȧ; smal, "ear"), the sufferer placed his ear over a little hole in the ground into which a few coals were dropped. Blue corn was also mentioned without explanation as a cure for this. A shaman was resorted to for
[755] severe tooth- or earaches: for the latter he repeatedly puffed smoke in front of the ear and sucked out "something." The shaman for earaches was one who had dreamed of "small animals, cottontails, jackrabbits, and the like." The root of ipil,ima'n was used for sores; either mashed and boiled, when the sores were washed with the liquor, or slicing and drying the root to lay on the sores. (The plant resembled rhubarb; its root was chocolate colored and shaped like a sweet potato.)

SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCES

789 The primary function of shamans was curing; séances were in-
[533] frequent, mostly clairvoyant, and these on the whole definitely utilitarian. Shamans also sang curing songs for pure entertainment according to one informant, although a second denied it.

Shamans seem to have performed their tricks to give evidence
[527] of their powers only at large gatherings, when dances, races, and games were held. The great dances were those of January and February, when the wheat sprouted, and again at harvest time in late August–September. Another occasion for their display was at the sahurao-drinking celebration in mid-June.

The principal feat was handling live coals; swallowing and

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Maricopa
Cocopa

spitting them out again red hot, walking or kneeling on them, or putting them in their pockets. This could be done by those who dreamed of Frog. 789

When Mountain Killdeer was sung, the shamans all cried "Spread it! spread it!" (kătăvăta'g) and then performed their tricks. One man who pretended he was one of them went away from the crowd to spread secretly his cotton blanket with dirt. Then he poured hot coals in the middle of it, but he did not notice that dirt was lacking there. He whirled it around until it blazed up, to his discomfiture. They all laughed at him; pushed him about, laughing. This was always alluded to as a joke whenever this song was sung.

Others "who had something around their hearts which gave them power," rubbed themselves on the breast and drew out of their mouths flat tapes, a foot long, which resembled sinew. Sometimes they took from their mouths a hair which seemed alive. There was no stick swallowing trick.

For the rest, shamanistic activities had practical ends: helping fishermen, bringing rain, purifying eagle feathers, and clairvoyance to discover the enemy, foretell the winner of a race, or to detect thieves.

A shaman who had dreamed of fishes would go to a pond or slough when fish could not be caught. He would say, "Wait; I will see what I can do." He threw willow leaves in perhaps more than once, and the fishermen would find these transformed into fish.[34]

When rain was wanted, a shaman who had dreamed of rain would stand and puff four cigarettes toward the sky. "The smoke went up to the clouds." Another shaman might make the rain cease. This was not a public demonstration.

Eagle feathers were considered exceedingly dangerous (mu-ciðe'vĭk or mucărai'ăm), that is, poisonous (xuturău'yĭm).[35] They were given to a shaman to purify (xacăvăsu'i). He puffed the smoke of four cigarettes all over the feathers and then sucked each one. "He took all the poison out of it." (There was no singing with this procedure.) The shaman would tie the feather to a 783 825

[34] Inquiry on this point was suggested by Mr. E. W. Gifford who understood the Cocopa to say that they used willow leaves to fill up the pond in order to stupefy or poison the fish. [114]

[35] For a myth reference see p. 374.

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783 young man's hair for him. Even then this man would not dare
825 touch a drinking utensil after having touched the feather he wore, else those who used it would get sick. Kutox said he would not touch an eagle feather for anything!

Clairvoyants could reveal the whereabouts of the enemy or
787 forecast his coming. The clairvoyant shaman who accompanied
726 a war party into the mountains, one who dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote, smoked four cigarettes and fell as though dead. His smoking was thought to lift him high into the air. When he recovered he told how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain where the location and numbers of the enemy were revealed and how easily they might be slain. The war party then set off following his leadership.

To foretell if enemies were approaching on stormy nights when they might be expected, a shaman performed in the meeting house. His spirit was unknown to the informant. The per-
[823] formance was predicated on the belief that the mountains of the several tribal territories were partisans of their inhabitants. Four piles of dirt were made in the meeting house. This shaman went to each in turn, stooped, and sucked it up, groaning all the while. When he finished the fourth pile, he dropped "dead." They put him with a rattle in a little hut built inside the meeting house. Then the mountains came "in the form of persons": the audience felt the draft as they entered. "The house might be crowded, yet they could hear the mountain talk in there." A mountain would take the rattle, asking "How did they come to kill this man [the shaman]? What is wrong that you killed him?" The mountain spirit would say, "I am tired," and act the part. A man sitting beside the "dead" shaman answered, "Yes, I know you are tired, having come a long way. But this night we fear the enemy; for that reason we called you here." The mountain would reply, "No, the enemy are not thinking of you; perhaps some other time but not now. If you do not believe me, another person [mountain] will tell you." Then it left and immediately another mountain entered. "Even the mountain at Yuma came: it spoke Yuma." Then a mountain of Papago land came in; immediately the other left. The Papago mountain would say,

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776 would hear any prayer. Last Star also thought that they were
782 not directed to particular spirits.

Old people think that when the trees begin to bud, their lives have changed, been renewed; that a spirit has pulled them through the hard winter. They would then address the various spirits of animals and strong birds [that is, those that have power]. They did not pray to sun or moon, or dream of them. The sun toward evening says, "I have gone through the whole world watching my children. They seem all right, so I think I will go down and see how they are getting on in the other world." The sun claims every living creature as his own: so it seems queer to Last Star that they do not pray to him. The moon is an old woman who [821] looks down on little children and protects them. Hence when the moon first appears, the little children are told to call her by a kinship term, cinkls, grandparent's sister.

171 Prayer plumes were not used by the Maricopa, although the
782 Pima usage was known. Nor were other offerings made, as shell, turquoise; nor sand paintings and fetishes constructed. The pollen crosses marked on themselves by Yavapai were equally unknown.

183 Beliefs in a magical order of events and actions were moder-
771 ately important in Maricopa thought. At the same time they gave only lip service to some of these, differentiating rather clearly between sayings and beliefs. Mrs. Redbird, my interpreter, proved invaluable in this matter, always carefully prefacing her translation with the observation that the item was one of literal belief or merely a saying.[37] All beliefs and allied practices not mentioned elsewhere in this section on religion are resumed here.

787 Apart from the import of dreams, there were several omens,
825 almost without exception presaging disaster. If the enemy were nearing a fishing party, the fish then broiling would shout out loud from among the coals. Just as soon as the fish were eaten, the enemy would appear shouting. Sometimes a fish bled from its side before it was cut: this was a sign someone would be wounded. If on a journey or to war, a deer joined the party instead of fleeing, it was taken as an omen that one of them would be killed. But the informant immediately added, that it meant they would kill an enemy, because to take a deer without having to hunt for it was lucky!

[763] Death or an epidemic was presaged by a horned owl seen flitting about the houses: when his mouth opened a light was seen

[37] For sayings see p. 331.

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in it. When the loon (xalyâpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster.

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma.

It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.) Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them about.[38] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness. If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more.

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called vitâpana', and tarantula.

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. They were called pipain,iko'ʀ, "old people."

In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains.

[38] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, pp. 111, 180).

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826 Nail parings thrown away would make a noise like a kiss, so they did not like to throw them near where they slept.

SOULS AND LIFE AFTER DEATH

774 It is clear that concepts of soul were not involved in the dream experience. An individual possessed a plurality of souls: (1) wipai′, the soul proper, the vital principle; (2) 'ĭcĭnyoi′yĭm, "[something that] does not act good," the whirlwind soul, the ghost; (3) iwa′, the heart; (4) iwaănŏk, "small heart," the pulses. "At death the wipai′ goes to the land of the dead; the ghost stays about [in human guise] as the whirlwind; the heart becomes a horned owl, each pulse a screech owl. The heart is always the last part of the body to burn. It is called 'the horned owl,'" Kutox thinks, because it burns as a black lump. The horned owl was sometimes called kwĭpu′i iwa′c, "the dead people's heart." "The ghost is just the shadow of the dead person," according to Last Star. When illness was said to be occasioned by the loss of the soul, it was the wipai′ which was thought to leave the body. At death, the remaining souls left the body: the whirlwind soul perhaps at the instant of death; more certainly the heart and pulses fled the corpse during its cremation.

775 [825] [826]

184 775 The Maricopa believed that the land of the dead lay to the west, in the desert on the lower reaches of the Gila. They called it "the dead people's place" (puĭnyâva′, sing.; hupoi′ĭnyâva′, pl.). Where the Halchidhoma localized their after life while they were still on the Colorado, Kutox had never heard his people mention. As he knew them, living on the Gila with the Maricopa, they said that their own and the Maricopa dead went to the same place in the west. The point is of some interest. The Yumans of the lower Colorado assigned a southerly direction to it, hence this was probably also the original Halchidhoma localization. But the Maricopa have transposed the names of the cardinal points from the normal Yuman order, south becoming west, so that the direction downstream was correctly maintained, and with it, we may presume, the direction in which lay the land of the dead.

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539[x] different costumes on each people that they should wear them. When he had arranged this, he breathed into every one of those people, so that they all alike would reason.

When everybody could speak, that is including rabbits and all other kinds of animals, he built a big house for them. This held all the beings he had created. When morning came they would all go out to play together; all the games of which they could think. Toward evening they would all go into the house. Then he also made a snake. It had no teeth. It was gentle. Its name was kinyama's kâsuk, meaning fragile and limp. They would take the snake and hit each other with it. The rabbit always got the snake and played with it. He would bring it out, so that they could play, hitting each other with it until it was half dead. Then they would replace it.

They had no axe nor anything else with which to cut wood. The creator had power to reach out to the north and seize an axe. So they then had an axe to cut wood. As they had fire enough to keep them happy, they were well content in their home.

Early in the morning they all went out to play. The creator was lying right by the door. The snake crawled up to him. The creator asked him what he wanted. The snake said he only crawled up because of his poor condition; he was not being treated right. He had life just like the others: he did not see why he was roughly treated by everyone in that house. The creator told him to sit there and wait for the sun to rise. Then the creator took some coals and chewed them into tiny bits. They both sat there; the snake facing the east as the sun rose. Then the creator told him to open his mouth. This he did. Then the creator put the coal and the sun rays together in it for teeth. The snake now had teeth, so he went back able to protect himself.

Toward evening when everybody returned to the house, they sent the rabbit again to get the snake. As she [*sic*] reached for the snake, she was bitten. She suffered with pain for just a short [825] time and died at midnight.[4] (When a snake really means to bite, it kills at once. If you tread on him accidentally and he

[4] The tale was interrupted at this point.

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strikes, there is time to be cured. The reason he bit that rabbit first was that rabbits are his food.) 539x [825]

After the rabbit died they felt bad over their great loss. So instead of going out to play, they remained quiet mourning their sister. Then they began to wonder who had put teeth in the snake's mouth. They discovered who it was: their father, who had taken pity on the poor snake. Then they wondered why he did not feel sorry for the rabbit. Then they said they would kill their father, if only someone knew how. They thought he, too, ought to die.

Bullfrog was the one who knew how to do it. The frog sank into the ground and went under a slough where the old man used to swim. If he went swimming again, the frog was to drink up all the water in the slough. He did this. As soon as the old man got out, he felt sick as he was going home.

After four days he was very sick. He told all his children to take him outside to see if he would not feel better. Then he told them to build him a new house to see if that would help. Next, he did not want any bedding; he wanted only pure sand spread to lie on. Last, he said he wanted a travelling shade, but no one knew what he meant, until someone suggested that they cut four willow trees to set in a row. Someone did this and they set them up. Cipas said that was what he meant: it was all right. He said, "I suggested these four [*sic*] things to see if they would help me, but they do not. Take me inside my own old house." They took him in. He was unable to go out anymore. He wanted things to eat. He wanted cactus to eat—it was during winter—so they sent the cactus wren after some. He brought it but it did Cipas no good: he did not eat it all. Then he sent the mocking bird for wild black berries. Then he sent for some wild red berries. All these were sent for during the winter. Finally he sent the woodchuck for mesquite beans. He sent for these four and tried to eat, but he could not. Then he said, "All these things I have tried in order to recover from my sickness, but they do no good. I have not been with you long enough to tell you all I know. Sickness must come to people just as it did to me." He meant when people live on earth, they will try to raise their chil-

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to instruct the people. He was then called kwĭstămxo'. This was after he had talked to Coyote [p. 143].

COYOTE[10]

After the destruction of the big house at the time of the creation, everyone was scattered over the world. Among them were namĕ'ṭ and namĕ'ṭ hatagu'lṭ.[11] They moved but a little way from their house, and said, "After the destruction of a house (after a cremation), humans will not move very far. They will go just a little way and make a new home." So they went a little distance and stopped. They made a home there. Namet, the older, stood still. They used his old body for a house: his four legs were the posts; his backbone was the mainpost that held all the weight of the house; his mouth was a door. Then he got out in some fashion so as to leave the old body standing as their house. The two brothers lived there.

When Coyote recovered from his sickness, he was as thin as could be. He was going along to the west. The two brothers wondered where he had gone. Coyote was their younger brother. They wondered if he had been killed for his behavior. They had no other way of finding out where he was, so they burnt deer grease. The wind blew it hard in one direction, south. Then as Coyote was traveling he caught the odor. (He is also called sarâmiyo'.)[12] He said, "My brothers are wondering where I am. Sure enough, I caught the smell of it and know where they are. Then by following the odor, I will get there."

When they were settled there, those two had no food. By their power they caused rain so that everything would come up: all kinds of weeds. They used these for food. To make rain, the older, Namet, took an arrow; stuck it far down in the ground and

[10] This was told, and certainly thought of, as continuing the creation tale.

[11] Both of these are large cats; neither is the jaguar (namĕ'ṭ kâtca's). They may be two subspecies of cougar, possibly the California and Yuma cougars. Namĕ'ṭ was described as as large as the biggest dog, having a long tail and long sharp claws, solid buff or gray in color; namĕ'ṭ hatagu'lṭ (hatagu'lṭ, wolf) as exactly like namĕ'ṭ but a little taller.

[12] Cf. the Yuma myth name for Coyote, Xuksaraviyō'u (Harrington, *Yuma Account of Origins*, p. 339) and the Mohave θaxâvi'yo.

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and when they could not climb up, they brought nothing but feathers home. People shall tell this story over and over again."[27]

After they threw the feathers away, they sat together at the foot of the cliff. The older brother said, "kwiʀăŏkoč'v, you are always boasting of your power. If you have power enough, you can climb up and throw the eaglet to me." The younger brother said, "Yes, I did tell you I have power enough to do things, and I am going to try now." He rubbed himself until he was transformed into a certain kind of snake (gwĭtn,ia'lk). He lay at the foot of the cliff ready to start. Then the older brother sang:

yačnya ăkuyuṇuṇuṇamin
to climb

At the end of the song the snake started up. He had only a little farther to go to reach the nest, when he stopped. That was as far as he could go. Then the older brother said, 'Well, poor brother, he has no arms or feet. Suppose a storm should come up, he could not hold to the cliff. He might be thrown down and broken to pieces. If that should happen, why should I go back alone? I will kill myself among the cliffs here. That will be the end of us." But as he said this, the snake rolled down. When he reached the ground, he was so worn out that he rolled around half dead. Then he changed himself to a boy again.

As they sat there, the older brother said, "You have boasted of your power, but you have done nothing with it. I have never boasted of my power, but I will try." He rubbed himself until he was transformed into a little piece of cotton. But before he started he sang:

yačnya ăkulyunununămi pada

Then he went up. The younger brother watched until he could no longer see him. As he sat there thinking, he said, "Poor brother, he has no arms or feet. In case of a storm he could not hold to the cliff. If a storm should rise, it would blow him far up in the sky and I should never again see him. I will call to him to

[27] Maricopa belief was that it was extremely dangerous to touch eagle feathers until they had been purified.

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[825]

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because everything had been burned. He was told where to find his friend. When he entered the house where his friend lay, the tanager looked up at him. When he saw who it was, he jumped up. They went arm in arm the whole day, not saying a word to each other. Late in the evening they built a big fire. He told them how he had disappeared. Then their wives rushed in and interfered so they had to take mesquite bark and tie up the door. At last they found out it was the scheme of Coyote, so they chased him away. Then they got their wives back again. 539x

For that reason, anybody who dreams of the tanager or blackbird is always after girls. A person who dreams of the coyote will interfere in someone else's love affairs, and then will loose the girl or his wife, and pretend not to care, but sometime later he will make trouble. [787] [825]

BROTHER-SLAYER[42]

The story begins with the brothers living with the old people. One was a giant, named ɣavâtca'c mŏkĬl,ăpu'k (meaning man of ɣavâtca'c who wiggles because he is tall). Another was married. They started across the Colorado. They stopped in a line standing in a shallow place. As they reached down to get water in their palms, some spilled. One brother did not take a palmful for himself, but caught the water his brother's wife spilled. So through jealousy, the brothers separated and began to fight.

A blind man was one of the enemy. They had a huge house filled with men. One of them was a good fighter. He killed all the enemies about his home. He even went among his own people, killing them. He killed his older brother, too. His name was matgwĭnăpa' [no meaning]. His father, named djio'tĭc, was married again and lived some distance away from the village. It was the children of this couple he killed. This family lived in a cave. They had a younger son, who said he would start off to see if he could not kill some of the enemy. They said, "No, you must stay home. You are only a young boy and your half-brother [Matgwĭnăpa'] is older than you." This boy could fly in the air. He came over and killed some of the men in the village. They would always try to shoot him when he came over to the village, but they could not.

[42] Told by Kutox, who professed not to know it well. [115]

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539X An Halchidhoma dreams his dog will help them (as an old Yuma woman had dreamed of hers). Secretly visiting the Yuma, this man hears them plan to attack the Halchidhoma. The dog champions fight; the Yuman dog is worsted. The man strikes his basket to cause a storm. The Halchidhoma slay all the Yuma. The dog told his master how they felt when abused, so *people* [825] *must never abuse dogs.*

THE VISIT OF THE DEAD (p. 399)

A family cross the desert east of the Colorado (the land of the dead). The dead come, offering food. The wife falls asleep: she dies. The husband keeps himself and their baby awake: they escape. *If one falls asleep in this place he will die.*

CORN AND TOBACCO (p. 400)

Corn and Tobacco quarrel over which is most useful. Corn boasts of feeding warriors, but Tobacco boasts of being used by everyone as well. In anger, Tobacco goes to the west and Corn [824] to Mexico, *hence corn and tobacco do not grow well here.*

CLOUD AND WIND (p. 400)

Cloud and Wind are brothers. Wind blows too hard; people curse the brothers. In anger, Cloud and Wind go up through a hole in the sky. There is a drought on earth. Coyote is sent to discover the pair. He is given down to test the wind. Failing to find them he blows the down: they discover the trickery. Buzzard searches and at the sky-hole his down is blown. He goes to their house, but both turn away from him in anger. They finally tell Buzzard to instruct the people to repair their houses and prepare their fields. Cloud and Wind descend and make a storm. [821] *Now they live in the sky so that there are no longer any hard storms.*

COYOTE HUSBAND (p. 403)

The coyotes decide to help the Halchidhoma. Two coyotes entice an Halchidhoma girl. She marries a coyote: her people think she is dead. Her coyote-child is to be a great warrior. The coyotes decide to take her back. She is warned not to disclose where she has been and to await her coyote-husband. The coy-